upon them, and they returned to their people with more friendly feelings towards the Government and the whites. No other information of any importance has been received at this office concerning the Indians in Utah.

friendly feelings towards the Government and the whites. No other information of any importance has been received at this office concerning the Indians in Utah.

The treaties recently concluded by Superintendent Ramsey with the Chippewas at Pembina, and by Superintendent Mitchell and Agent Fitzpatrick with the wild tribes of the prairies at Fort Luramie, came to hand at so late a period as to afford but little time for considering their provisions; but they are fully explained in the accompanying reports of the Commissioners, who doubtless have discharged with fidelity and ability the ardrous and important duties imposed upon them.

No material change has, taken place in our relations with the Indians in Texas. They remain in the same embarrassed and perplexed condition that has characterized them for several years past, and they must continue so until the anomalous position in which the Government is placed in regard to them be essentially changed. In the last annual report it was recommended that commissioners be appointed to confer with the proper authorities of Texas on this subject, with a view to an arrangement for phoing the Indians in that State under the exclusive control of the General Government. The recommendation is now carnestly renewed; for, until this measure is effected, it is vain to expect that Indian affairs in that State can be placed on a satisfactory footing. The number of these Indians is far less than is generally supposed. A large extent of territory is not required for them. They are in such condition as to be compelled to starve or steal; and if Texas will not consent to the arrangement suggested, necessary as it is to the security of her frontier, and the very existence of the Indians, she can have no just cause to complain of depredations committed by famishing aborigines of the country, who certainly have the right to live somewhere, and nowhere more certainly than on the lands which they and their fathers have occupied for countiess generations.

The commissioners appointed for t

The Indians in Florida have long been the occasion of The Indians in Florida have long ocen the occasion of enormous expense to the Government, and of annoyance to the people of the State, who, with great unanimity, are deeply anxious for their removal to the country pro-vided for their tribe west of the Mississippi river. Revided for their tribe west of the Mississippi river. Recognising the obligation of the Government to persevere in its endeavors to accomplish this desirable object, and satisfied that other means than those heretofore employed were indispensable, the Department has deemed it expedient to test the efficiency of individual enterprise, stimulated by the hope of gain contingent on success. This has been done by an arrangement entered into with Gen. Luther Blake, of Alabama, the particulars of which are set forth in his letter of instructions, a copy of which ecompanies this report. Many causes combine to ren-er the removal of these Indians a work of extreme difficulty; not the least of which is the offer heretofore officers of the army to pay them individually large sums of money, ranging from one hundred to ten thousand dollars; in consequence of which they naturally expect that they will not be required to remove without the payment of equal or larger amounts than they have already refused. I am by no means sanguine, therefore, that the plan for removing them now in operation will be attended with success, but it is worthy of a trial; if it fail, the loss to the Government will be a mere trifle; if it succeed, the gratifying result will amply vin-

trifle; if it succeed, the gratifying result will amply vindicate the wisdom of the experiment.

The regular estimates of the office for the present exceed those of the last year \$59,445. This excess is caused mainly by the increased number of agents and interpreters for New Mexico and Utah, authorized by the act of 27th February, 1851, reorganizing this Department, and the transfer from the special to the regular estimates of the item \$43,600, required to pay the interest on Choctaw scrip. The difference between the amount appropriated by Congress at its last session on special estimates and the amount of that class of estimates for the propriated by Congress at its last session on special esti-mates and the amount of that class of estimates for the present year is very large, being \$884,954.66, exclusive of the interest on the appropriation of \$724,603.37 to pay the Cherokees, amounting to \$402,802.86. The entire amount appropriated at the last session on Indian account exceeds the aggregate sum of the regular and special estimates now submitted \$1,228,312.52. It is proper to remark, however, that additional appropriations will be required; the estimates for which will be submitted as soon as the necessary data are in the possession of the office. The explanatory remarks accompanying the estimates, it is hoped, will be found satisfactory, as care has been taken to make them conformable to law.

The second volume of the work published by authority of Congress, under the direction of this bureau, contain-ing information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States, is in ress, and will shortly be ready for distribution. It will

be found a worthy sequel to the preceding volume, which was received with so much general favor.

The civilization of the Indians within the territory of the United States is a cherished object of the Government. It undoubtedly merits all the consideration bestowed upon it, and the employment of all the means ne-cessary for its accomplishment. There are not wanting those who, judging from the apparent little success which in some instances has attended the instrumentalities employed, doubt the practicability of the measure. It should be remembered, however, that to change a savage people from their barbarous habits to those of civilized life is, in its nature, a work of time; and the results already attained, as evinced in the improved condition of several of our tribes, are sufficient to silence the most skeptical, and warrant the assurance that perseverance in the cause will

The history of the Indian furnishes abundant proof that he possesses all the elements essential to his elevation; powers, instincts, and sympathies which appertain to his white brother, and which only need the proper de-velopment and direction to enable him to tread with equal step and dignity the walks of civilized life. He is intellectual, proud, brave, generous; and in his devotion to his family, his country, and the graves of his fathers it is clearly shown that the kind affections and the impulses of patriotism animate his heart. That his inferiority is nor attested by experience. Prejudice against him, ori-ginating in error of opinion on this subject, has doubtless been a formidable obstacle in the manufacture. been a formidable obstacle in the way of his improvement while, on the other hand, it is equally certain that his progress has been retarded by ill-conceived and misdi-

rected efforts to hasten his advance.

It is even questionable whether the immense amounts paid to them in the way of annuities have not been, and are not now, all things considered, a curse to them rather than a blessing. Certain it is, there has not at all times been the most wise and beneficial application of their funds. To arouse the spirit of enterprise in the Indian, and bring him to realize the necessity of reliance upon himself in some industrial pursuit for his support and comfort, is generally, if not universally, the initiative step to his civilization, which he is often prevented from taking by the debasing influence of the annuity system. But the system is fastened upon us, and its attendant evils must be endured.

On the general subject of the civilization of the Indians many and diversified opinions have been put forth; but, unfortunately, like the race to which they relate, they are too wild to be of much utility. The great question, How shall the Indians be civilized? yet remains without a satisfactory answer. The magnitude of the subject, and the manifold difficulties inseparably connected with it, seem to have bewildered the minds of those who have attempted to give it the most thorough investigation. The re-mark of the late Attorney General Legaré is not more striking than true, that "there is nothing in the whole compass of our laws so anomalous, so hard to bring within any precise definition or any logical and scientific ar-rangement of principles, as the relation in which the In-dians stand towards this Government and those of the States." My own views are not sufficiently matured to justify me in undertaking to present them here. To do so would require elaborate detail, and swell this report beyond its proper limits. I therefore leave the subject for the present, remarking only that any plan for the civi-lization of our Indians will, in my judgment, be fatally defective if it do not provide, in the most efficient manner, first, for their concentration; secondly, for their domesti-cation; and, thirdly, for their ultimate incorporation into the great body of our citizen population.

Respectfully submitted.

## Respectfully subr L. LEA. Commissioner. Hon. A. H. H. STUART,

Secretary of the Interior. MAIL ROBBER CAUGHT.—A young man named James Hackney was a few days ago arrested by the postmaster at Gunter's Landing, having drawn suspicion upon himself by exhibiting in a grocery money and checks to the amount of \$2,064. It was soon ascertained that he had robbed the mail on board the steambost Atlanta, running between Chattanooga and Decatur. About three hundred violated letters had been found in the hold of the boat, and this young man having got off at Gunter's Landing was pursued by Dr. Burnett, mail agent, who happened to be at Chattanooga. Hackney confessed to the crime, and admitted that he had plundered the mail three times, twice in Alabama and once in Tennessee. He was held to bail at Huntsville in the sum of \$1,500, and Dr. Burnett took steps to secure his arrest for the offence combama. The mail seems to have been kept in the Social Hall, on board the boat: it has since, however, been placed

under lock and key .- Nashville Banner.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH .- (CONTINUED.)

IN SENATE, DECEMBER 11 AND 12, 1851. The Senate having under consideration the resolution roposing that Congress, in behalf of the American Peole, welcome Kossuth to this country and its capitul ple, welcome Kossuth to this country and its capitul—
Mr. CASS said: Mr. President, I shall vote against the amendment of the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Berren,) not because the fellow-sufferers of the illustrious Hungarian leader are not worthy of respect and commiscration every where, but simply because he comes here as the representative of a great principle, and I do not desire to have our testimonial in its favor weakened by the introduction of other names or topics. We all know the effect of amendment after amendment upon a resolution, and how easily its character and objects are changed by such proceedings. For myself, I shall adhere to the purpose we have in view.

we have in view.

Mr. President, I intended to say something upon this Mr. President, I intended to say something upon this subject, and I may as well say it now upon the question before the Senate. This discussion has taken a very wide range—a very discursive range. I shall not follow it in its ramifications, but there are some observations which I wish briefly to offer to the Senate.

Now, with respect to the invitation from Congress to Kossuth, I am not going to enter into any critical analysis of it; I am not going to enter into any philological examination of its words. It is idle to say that we invited him as a confinery emigrant, to come here to enter his

him as an ordinary emigrant, to come here to enter his one hundred and sixty acres of land and take up his resi-

him as an ordinary emigrant, to come here to enter his one hundred and sixty acres of land and take up his residence in the forest.

To be sure, the word "emigrants" is used in the original resolution, but our attention was fixed upon the leader and his patriotic band, not because we sought them for the usual purposes of emigration, but because he had been an apostle and had become a martyr of liberty, and we desired to honor the cause and to honor the man; and we were truly anxious to rescue all these interesting sufferers from the evils of captivity, and the still greater evils impending over them, should Mohammedan baspitality be compelled to yield to Christian menaces. We invited the great leader of a great revolution to come among us; one who had performed a noble part in the history of his country—in the history, indeed, of the human race. It was an imposing procedure on our part. It was, and was intended to be, a testimonial from the Congress of the United States to a great man and a holy cause. Why, it went forth to the world as a homage from a great republic to a principle which is the corner-stone of its own institutions, and was announced in every journal from California to Siberia, wherever an iron despotism has not placed its foot upon the press. It was a most imposing legislative act. The arrival of the vessel we sent on this grateful mission upon the old Homeric waters of the Hellespont was heralded by the announcement of the fact to all the world. And a proud day it was for us, and I trust for human liberty, when these hope-deferred exiles trod the deck of freedom, and found the ensign of a great and free people waving a proud day it was for us, and I trust for human interty, when these hope-deferred exiles trod the deck of freedom, and found the ensign of a great and free people waving over them. Then, and not till then, were they safe.

And are we now to mar this beautiful page of our his-

tory, this tribute to patriotism and freedom, by saying that we merely invited a party of unfortunate Hungarians, as "emigrants," to our shores, and there they have landed, and there we leave them? They came as emigrants, and let them settle as such. And do we seek to prove by a philological examination of the invitation—merely, in fact, it would appear, to please two despotic measures, that we meant no heave to Kessuth none monarchs—that we meant no honor to Kossuth, none to his companions, none to the cause to which they have devoted themselves? Why, sir, the common instincts of every man revolt against such a perversion. He came under no such circumstances. He came an exile, indeed, but admired and revered wherever liberty has found an abiding-place, or wherever sincere but secret aspiraan abiding-place, or wherever sincere but secret aspira-tions ascend to Heaven for its enjoyment. Such were the condition and claims of Kossuth. I regretted very much to hear upon this floor words of reproach, both against him and the revolution of his country. He needs no eulogy from me. He will find that in the hearts of mankind and in the voice of history. His name will go down to posterity, imprinting his character and princi-ples mean the generation among which his great deeds ples upon the generation among which his great deeds have been done. Every age of the world is marked by the advent of peculiar individuals, who seem designed by Providence to perform a distinguished part in the concerns of the world. This age is marked by the deeds of Kossuth. Why, sir, there must be some great fascination about this wanderer, without power, without wealth, without a country. Such processions as those that have welcomed his arrival both here and in England have scarcely been seen in the world since the pageants of Roman triumphs. No man can receive such voluntary homage from a free people without possessing some of the highest qualities of our nature. Did he not, his presence would soon dissolve the enchantment, and reduce him to his true dimensions. But enthusiasm seems to increase as he becomes better known, and all join in tendering to him the tribute

A good deal has been said about the revolution of Hun-gary, and a good deal in disparagement of the Lonall not follow these assaults to repel them. It would be a work of supererogation in this country. I will say, however, that it was a great and noble effort, worthy of the de-scendants of that band of heroes who, centuries ago, upon the frontiers of Christendom, upheld the banner of the Cross against the standard of the Prophet of Mecca. It is objected here that the Hungarians began their revolution with professions of loyalty to the Austrian crown and of attachment to the Austrian empire; that they asked but little at first, and that they avowed their deter mination not to be separated from their common country; and all this is brought forward here as a charge and proof of inconsistency and insincerity. Well, si s almost a chapter taken out of our own revolutionary history-almost a narrative of events and feelings in our own country, connected with the origin and progress of our struggle with England. The resemblance, not to say the identity, is remarkable. What did our revolutionary fathers do? They, too, began with declarations of attachment to the English crown and people, and it is a historical truth beyond contradiction that they did not desire separation, and they at first condemned it as a great evil. If the Hungarians boasted, as is here said, that they were the firmest supporters of the Austrian power, and had freely shed their blood in its defence, did not and had freely shed their the noble patriots who conducted us through our stormy and perilous crisis-did they not boast, in that they had shown their attachment to England by fight-ing her battles in the wars of 1745 and 1760, and had taken efficient parts in the capture of Havana, of Louisbourg, and of Quebec, and in the annihilation of the French power upon this continent? So began the contest; but sufferings and sacrifices on one side, and cruelty and oppression on the other, soon changed all these feel-ings, and converted sincere friendship into deadly enmity. ings, and converted sincere friendship into ucasily charles.

And such is the natural course of all revolutions. They generally commence with moderate demands, but soon hange their character and seek the permanent establishment of independence. Concessions which would at first have been received with gratitude are afterwards spurned with contempt, and the struggling party rises in its hopes and expectations in proportion to its own exertions and to the prospects of success. I repeat, it is human nature. Attempts at subjugation produce their necessary consequences—enmity and alienation. Now, sir, I do hope we shall hear no more of Hungarian inconsistency and insincerity because little was asked at first and much accrewards; for we cannot hear it without being sensitive the same accusation may be made against Washington and his accusation may be made against Washington. and his associates, whom we all love and honor. This has been precisely the course of all men who have had to fight the battles of freedom, since human rights first con-

Mr. President, what is the object of the present pro seeding? I refer now to the resolution introduced by the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Poore,) as it is more comprehensive than the one offered by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward,) and better opens the whole subject. But by-and-by I shall briefly consider the latter. What, I repeat, is the object of this proceeding? It is to ex-press the interest of the American people and their representatives in the glorious cause—aye, and in the glorious fate—of this great Hungarian leader. What was that resolution of the Serator from Mississippi? It was substantially an expression of "sympathy" for a people "unfurling the bauners of freedom," in the beautiful words of Washington; and these words furnish a precedent which I hope the Senators from Georgia and Ken-tucky (Mr. Berrien and Mr. Underwood) will consider tucky (Mr. Berrier and Mr. Underwood) will consider sufficiently authoritative to enable them to join us upon this occasion in expressing the sympathy of our countrymen, as the same feeling was expressed by the first and greatest of our Chief Magistrates in the heroic age of the Republic. What have nations a right to do—a real, practical right to do—under the circumstances in which we are placed? That is the true question, divested of all the lears whose anticipations have here fallen from elequent longues, but I trust upon unbelieving ears. Why this occasion in expressing the sympathy of our countrymen, as the same feeling was expressed by the first and greatest of our Chief Magistrates in the heroic age of the Republic. What have nations a right to do—a real, practical right to do—under the circumstances in which we are placed? That is the true question, divested of all the fears whose anticipations have here fallen from eloquent tongues, but I trust upon unhelieving ears. Why, sir, every nation has the right to open wide its doors, and to teceive, with welcome and kindness, all the victims of appression who, seeking to freetheir country from desponding the first out of the first and are compelled to seek safety by flight. These unfortunate men are received and protected by every Government when the exigency arises. For myself, I would leave our successors unshackled by any declaration upon this grave subject, and I consider it unwise to prejudge either the circumstances or the course which they may then impose upon us. An auditor, listening to the progress of this discussion, might naturally suppose that our proceedings would be followed by vials of wrath to be poured out by Europe upon our unfortunate country, to which the plagues of Egypt were but a gentle shower compared to the tropics. These observations have relation to the resolution of the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Footz.,) and I have endeavored to show that its adoption would give no just cause of offence to any Government whatever the moment a revolution is put down, those who have taken part in it flee elsewhere, if they can, for protection. In Europe they find refuge in Prance and Eagland. There are at this moment some half a dozen wandering pretenders, whom revolutionary events have expelled or withheld from thrones, and who are roaming females of the first and the resolution of the Senator from New York, (Mr. Sawara), which simply says to the Hungarian patriot, you are welcome to our country. And is it possible that one member of this body can be found who sees any thing females.

through Europe protected by its various Governments. England at one time afforded an asylum to the refugees of two, if not of three, revolutions. I am not sure that the representative of the Bourbon family was there when Louis Philippe was overthrown, but Louis Philippe himself and those who led to the revolution that dethroned him and were the victims of another struggle found themselves in England at the same time, quietly enjoying the protection of her laws. Who ever complained that a place of refuge was thus found for the unfortunate? And yet, what is the importance of a small band of exiles upon a distant continent to the real presence and protection of him who claims, by the grace of God, the government of a country? If the former is justly offensive, I should like to know what the latter is? If this poor privilege of escape were taken away, you would shut up within a condemned district every man under the ban of his rulers, and you would make each of the despotic countries of Europe one vast slaughter-house; and, still more, you would destroy the very germs of liberty throughout a vast portion of the world. But, still further, the Governments of Europe appropriate money to defray the expenses of strangers thus thrown into their hospitality. The British Government has done this, and so has the Government of France, and to a large amount, for exiles who have taken refuge there. It is a well-known fact that the banished pretenders to several of the European thrones have been aided, if not wholly supported, by the contributions of their monarchical brethren who have been fortunate enough to retain their positions. And are we to refrain from even the poor tribute of expressing our sympathy for these interesting strangers who come among us—these patriotic exiles—because we are Republicans, and they deaire their countrymen to become such? No one complains of monarchical sympathy. Let no man in this free country complain of the republican expression of it. It is futile to talk about intervention. There is no int

to a persecuting Government to have the subjects of wrath protected and maintained than would be a mere

wrath protected and maintained than would be a mere expression of sympathy in their misfortunes.

Mr. President, there is a great principle which no one can deny, and that is, that, in the internal contests of other countries, where one portion of a compaunity is endeavoring to throw off an irou yoke, the other rowself the earth have no right to interfere. England and her continental allies violated this salutary prohibition in the invasion of France towards the commencement of her revolution, and signally was this breach of duty rebuked and punished by triumphant armies, who carried the tri-colored flag from Lisbon to Moscow. As far as I undercolored flag from Lisbon to Moscew. As far as I under-stand, this is the very ground taken by Kossuth in his various answers and addresses, conceived, I must say, in the genuine spirit of eloquence. He is willing to abide the issue of the efforts of the Eungarians, if they are left to contend with the power of Austria alone. It may be that, in the many and extemporaneous answers he is compelled to make, he has not always laid down the pre-cipal limitations, but the general nurrour is sufficiently cise limitations; but the general purport is sufficiently manifest; and, sir, I fully agree with him in this view. Russia and Austria have wolated this great salutary principle. The latter, hard pressed by the gallant Hungarians, invoked the aid of the Autocrat, and the Cossacks rians, invoked the aid of the Autocrat, and the Cossacks poured over the frontiers and prostrated in the dust the banner of freedem. Now, what may other nations rightfully do under such circumstances? The law of nations is the bond which unites all civilized communities together—which protects, not always, unfortunately, but often, the weak against the strong—the arbiter which substitutes reason for force. Every country under Heaven has an interest in its immunity and preservation.

tutes reason for force. Every country under Heaven has an interest in its immunity and preservation.

If, then, one of its great principles is violated, what may other nations rightfully do? Why, sir, the answer is easy and clear. If any nation believes its own interest is so much affected by this violation, and that it is so grave in its character as to justify it, it may resort to that remedy at its discretion. It has the moral right to appeal to the discretion independent. to that final arbiter in the disputes among independe Powers. Whether it will take that serious step is a que

tion for its own decision, depending upon its view of i own interest and policy.

But there are other methods than war by which th But there are other methods than war by which the feelings and disapprobation of the impartial Governments of the world may be expressed. They may make a public and solemn protest against the proceeding, placing upon historic record their disapproval of this conduct, and avowing their determination never to assent to the consequences of such acts, nor to the doctrines they establish. quences of such acts, nor to the doctrines they establish. Or they may remonstrate, in a diplomatic form, through their own representative, in terms more or less severe and decided, as the gravity of the circumstances and the interests involved may render proper; or the whole subject may be discussed, and the course condemned, in the legislative bodies of other Governments, as is done in France, in England, and in the United States. The public opinion of the world is a powerful engine in its social and ion of the world is a powerful engine in its social and political systems; and, though not always strong enough to prevent injustice, it is never without a salutary effect. It cannot be wholly shut out from the most despotic countries, and it has often made the tyrant tremble or his throne. And the halls of free legislation are the very places whence this warning voice may issue to perform its work. It seems to have been assumed in this discussion, if we remonstrate against infractions of the law of native terms of the law of native terms. tions—against this nigh-handed violation, for example, by Itussia and Austria—that we must be prepared to support our declaration by war—that, in truth, the act itself pledges us to war. Why, sir, no error can be greater or more mischievous. The protests and rempostrances of nations are every-day occurrences in the dblomatic history of the world. England put upon record her protest against the occupation of Cracow, to record in all time her disapprobation of that act of violence and injustice. But she rested there. She did not think the circumstances called for war. And within the current year it is

stances called for war. And within the current year it i known that both France and England made representa-tions against the demand of Russia and Austria that the Sultan should deliver up to their tender mercies the un-fortunate Hungarian exiles. What the protesting State: would have done had this insolent demand succeeded, we do not know. It did not necessarily follow that the would go to war. But it would be time ill spent to mu would go to war. But it would be time ill spent to multiply instances in illustration of this doctrine. Modern history is full of them, and they are familiar to all. I repeat, that what we shall do, in cases where we find it necessary to pursue this mode of expressing our disapprobation, is a mere question of policy; and if we do nothing but put ourselves right by this process of a disapproval, we compromit neither our dignity ner our bonor. We put our views upon record, and then we are free to act at any time thereafter as we please. act at any time thereafter as we please.

I take it for granted that there is not a sane man in th

country who dreams even of intervening by force in this affair—of sending a fleet to cover the Adriatic and to blockade the lagoons of old Venice and the part of Trieste, or another to take its station on the Sound, and lose the entrance of the Baltic to the ships of Russia. t is not physical force that every true lover of his county would desire to employ on this occasion. It is moral force—that powerful lever in the affairs of the world which coner or powerful lever in the affairs of the world which coner or later will do its work. Like truth, it is mighty and will prevail. Let not gentlemen, therefore, be also at the proposed expression of sympathy and interest. It may keep alive the hopes of oppressed millions in Europe to know that their condition and prospects receive the warm regard of the great Republic which in the newhenisphere has preceded them in the struggle for freedon, and now reaps the reward; and, in doing this, we keep curselves still in the pale of the law of nations, and give just cause of esence to no one.

of escence to no one.

Mr. President, eloquent allusions have been made here to the ominous condition of Europe. And truly t is sufficiently threatening to fix the regard of the rest of the civilized world. Elements are at work there, whose contact and contest must ere long produce explosions, wose con sequences no man can foresee. The cloud may syet it no bigger than a man's hand, like that seen by the prophet from Mount Carmel, but it will overspread he whole hemisphere, and burst, perhaps in ruins, upon he social and political systems of the Old World. Antagonistic principles are doing their work there. The conflict can-not be avoided. The desire of man to govern himself, and the determination of rulers to govern him, are low face to face, and must meet in the strife of action as tley have met in the strife of opinion. It requires a wistr or a rasher man than I am to undertake to foretell when and how this great battle will be fought; but it is as sure to come as is the sun to rise again which is now descending to the horizon. What the free Governments of the world may find it proper to do, when this great struggle truly begins, I leave those upon whom will devolve the duty and the responsibility of decision. Even if I had the right, I have no disposition to lay down the course which the great interests of humanity may require the then established Governments of the people to adopt. How far they will maintain by protest or remonstrance, or how far they will maintain by actual force, the inviolability of the law of to the horizon. What the free Governments of the world

shall have fulfilled their functions and disappeared.

I prefer the original resolution of the Senator from Mississippi, and regret that he found it necessary to withdraw it. I trust, however, that it will be renewed. My next choice is the one offered by the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Shirklos;) but, if neither of these can pass, I shall then vote for the proposition of the Senator from New York. That, I have said, is a mere welcome tendered to our guest; and really sir. I cannot treat with becoming our guest; and really, sir, I cannot treat with becoming gravity the fear that its adoption is to raise a storm of in-dignation against our country which is almost to blot us out from the record of nations. Never could cause and effect be more disproportionate.

The honorable Senator from Georgia (Mr. Berrien)

The honorable Senator from Georgia (Mr. Berrien) proposes an amendment, which is to rescue us from our perilous condition, by making a declaration which decrees that we declare nothing by this otherwise pregnant resolution. It is a sort of pronunciamiento, if I may so say, which is to announce our true object, and to serve as the exclusion of a conclusion, when the Russian and Austrian cabinets come to consider this grave measure, so directly affecting the rights and honor of their sovereigns. It is a kind of abstract annunciation of our policy appended to one of the most harmless procedures that ever took place in our legislation.

in our legislation.

Mr. President, I am utterly opposed to this careful regard of the susceptibilities of European arbitrary monarchs. It becomes neither us nor the great people we in part re-present. It is said, indeed, that we are in effect using threats towards the crowned heads who rule over Russia and Austria. A most prolific engine of mischief is this same resolution! Our countrymen have too much regard for the character and position of our country to approve of the use of menacing language by their servants to other Powers, or to suffer it to be used to them. These are all objectives which I are used to them. Powers, or to suffer it to be used to them. These are all chimeras, which I am sure a little reflection will dispel. Let us stand fast to our dignity, our character, and our principles. That is no threat; and if it be taken as such by the Autocrat of Russia, or by any body else, so be it. Let him follow his own course, and seek his own remedy.

This proposed amendment is a sort of appeal to the good-will of these monarches, saying, in substance, Take no offence, for we mean none. The resolution does not pledge us to do you any injury, and we mean to let Hungarian affairs take care of themselves. Well, sir, it appears to me that all this is uncalled for, undignified, and unworthy of the representatives of the sovereign States of

pears to me that all this is uncalled for, undignified, and unworthy of the representatives of the sovereign States of this Union. It shall never receive my assent.

The old well-known spectre of precedents has been revived. I hope that the two honorable Senators who have opposed our action on this account will see in the precedent of Gen. Washington the true principles of this case. I would ask the Senator from Georgia if the time has not arrived when we may set precedents for those who are to follow us, as they have been set by those who preceded us?

It has been well said that the existing generation stands It has been well said that the existing generation stands upon the shoulders of its predecessors; its visual horizon is enlarged from this elevation. We have the experience of these who have gone before us, and our own, too. We are able to judge for ourselves without blindly following in their footsteps. There is nothing stationary in the world. Moral and intellectual as well as physical sciences are in a state of progress; or, rather, we are marching onwards in the investigation of their true principles. It is presumptuous at any time to say that now is the best possible condition of human nature; let us sit still and be satisfied; there is nothing more to learn. I believe in no such doctrine. I believe we are always learning. We have a right to examine for ourselves. In fact, it is our have a right to examine for ourselves. In fact, it is our duty to do so. Still, sir, I would not rashly reject the experience of the world any more than I would blindly follow it. I have no such idea. I have no wish to prostrate all the barriers raised by wisdom, and to let in upon us an inundation of many such opinions as have been promulgated in the present age; but far be it from me to adopt as a principle of conduct that nothing is to be done except what has has been done before, and precisely as it

except what has has been done before, and precisely as it was then done. So much for precedents.

Sir, a most extraordinary spectacle is this day presented in the American Senate; extraordinary, I mean, when compared with what took place not long since in one of those old regions which were the cradle and threaten to become the tomb of civilization. The comparison of our course with that of the Sultan of Turkey is far from being flattering to our national variety. I am apprehensive course with that of the Sultan of Turkey is far from being flattering to our national vanity. I am apprehensive that the nations of the world will wonder at our timidity. Here we are, halting, hesitating, doubting; afraid to express our approbation of a great principle, even in the guise of a mere hospitable, barren welcome. And was the conduct of the successor of the Prophet marked by such vacillation when he was insolently required to deliver those relics of a revolution to their relentless enemies, that they might expire upon an Austrian scaffold, or suffer worse than death from Siberia and the knout? He nobly answered, "No; they have eaten my salt, and by the faith of the Prophet not a hair of their heads shall be touched." And if he had been driven—if the successor of the Othmans had been driven to unfurl the standard of Mahomet, and to defend his dominions and the sacred rights or manking at the nead of his armies, every true American would have bid him God speed, and would have American would have bid him God speed, and would have prayed for his success in upholding the doctrines of Christianity against the persecuting spirit of self-styled Christian rulers. I think that his rejection of the demands of those two great Powers, one of which touches his open frontier for hundreds of miles, while the other is always ready to pour its myrmidons from the heights of the Balkan, and to drive him from Constantinople across the Bosphorus; I say I think his course upon this occasion was one of the most remarkable instances of firmness that the world has lately seen. I give him credit for it; and still the more when I see with what cautious deliberation intelligent freemen explore this subject, and how untion intelligent freemen explore this subject, and how un willing they are to move when there is, in truth, "nothin

o make us afraid." There is another circumstance connected with this ma There is another circumstance connected with this matter, of a very different character, but scarcely less extraordinary. Here is a subject presented to Congress in the gravest form by the President in his annual message—a document every where read through the civilized world. He asks our special attention to it, and a resolution is introduced, as an honorable Senator has publicly stated—and ne man ever doubted his word—at the instance of the Secretary of State, to give effect to the President's recommendation, and the same political and the same political contents. mendation; and yet we see gentlemen of the same political party opposing the whole proceeding, with zeal amount Powers to warmth, because it may give offence to other Powers. The high officers specially charged with our foreign relations, and who ought best to understand the bearing of this proposition upon them, tell us by their conduct that the proposition is right. No injury can re-sult from it, nor will any one have just cause of complaint. I repeat that the circumstance is a very extraordinary one, and far beyond my comprehension. The Executive says, by the nature of his communication, there is no says, by the nature of his communication, there is no danger in all this; while our ears are assailed with Jeremiads almost proclaiming the downfall of our institutions. There seems to be a curious conversion going on. Upon this question the President is abandoned by his own party and supported by ours. Well, sir, the President is right, and for once I am an Administration man. I go for the

and for once I am an Administration man. I go for the movement, heart, soul, and body. I have no fear of the consequences; and if I know my countrymen, they would defend the sacred cause of free opinion and action, if assailed, against all the Powers of the earth.

Mr. BERRIEN. The question before the Senate is upon the first branch of the amendment which I had the honor to submit. Yet while that is the question, and the only proper one for discussion, the Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) has travelled over the whole ground of the original resolution. I am not disposed to follow him in that discursive course. But he has addressed certain of his observations especially to me, and in reference to those

that discursive course. But he has addressed certain of his observations especially to me, and in reference to those I desire to make a brief reply.

The Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) inquires emphatically, and of me, whether we, at this day, have not a right to make a precedent. Now, I am disposed to answer that question with perfect simplicity, and with a distinct affirmation of the proposition itself. Unquestionably we have the right, in the administration of the affairs of this Government to do any act which in our affairs of this Government, to do any act which, in our anars of this Government, to do any act which, in our judgment, the circumstances which surround us may require; and, if these circumstances have not previously existed, by the performance of that act we establish a precedent. But how, I beg leave to ask of the honorable Senator, did this doctrine of precedents come to be brought into our discussions? Was it introduced by the opponents of the resolution, or by the advocates of amendnents of the resolution, or by the advocates of amend-ment? No, sir; no, sir. The original mover of one of these resolutions sought to rest it upon the foundation of precedent; and what we have said upon the subject of precedent has been merely to show that that foundation upon which they proposed to erect their superstructure was an insufficient and unavailing one. If the circumstances of this case justify the act you are about to perform, no man denies you the right to do it. We have not objected that it wants precedent, if circumstances justify it. But when you have sought to rest this proposition upon the basis of precedent, we have said to you that the circum-stances do not justify this act—that you are counteracting the established policy of your country; and the amend ment is presented with a view to enable Senators to place

themselves distinctly before the country in affirmation or denial of the established policy of this Government. The honorable gentleman talks of timidity—of an appre-hension of exciting the indignation of the Powers that are to be prevented from interfering in the immediate affairs of Hungary-of the fear which gentlemen seem to en tertain, and the alarm that startles them at the pros pect of war. Now, sir, I am emphatically a man of peace. But I beg leave to say to the honorable gentleman that I have not been influenced by any considerations of timidity; that the question whether this shall excite the indignation of foreign Powers does not act in

console himself. Would that we were as secure against all other evils as we should be against the wrath of European sovereigns for this act of hospitality; if we were, our Government would endure till all human Governments require that she shall take that last resort, I shall meet it with as little apprehension of its consequences as the honorable Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) or any other individual who may avow an indifference to such a resort. No, sir, the motive by which I have been actuated is not timidity; not a consideration of the influence this may have upon the minds of those whom it is proposed that we should restrain; not a fear of the consequences of any just and rightful war in which we may be involved; but a record to the essential interests of my own coun-

of any just and rightful war in which we may be involved; but a regard to the essential interests of my own country, and a solemn conviction that this case does not present the circumstances which authorize you to put at hazard the vital interests of this nation. That is the ground upon which I have ventured my proposition; that is the ground upon which I resist the original resolution. The question which is immediately before the Senate is upon the first branch of the amendment which I have submitted, and it is upon that question that I desire to have a distinct expression of the Senatorial will. Will you make this an insulated compliment to Governor Kossuth? Will you consider him as the sole individual who is entitled to your cordial welcome? Or will you include suth? Will you consider him as the sole individual who is entitled to your cordial welcome? Or will you include within its range the Hungarian patriots who in subordinate stations have struggled with a devotion as prompt and as ardent as his own in this great cause of liberty? Are you disposed, by voting against this branch of the amendment, to exclude those Hungarian patriots who, like Governor Kossuth, periled life, fortune, all, in the maintenance of the principles for which they contended? Will you make this distinction?

I will not at this moment, turn to the words of your

tenance of the principles for which they contended? Will you make this distinction?

I will not, at this moment, turn to the words of your original invitation, but I ask you to consider this as a perfectly new question, unaffected by your preceding action. Suppose that all the gentlemen now presented to you were upon our shores—a body of Hungarian patriots with their leader. They have all struggled in this glorious cause; and shall we direct our sympathies solely to the leader? We, free men, recognising the principle of equality, adhering with devotion to the spirit of freedom, whether it burns in the bosom of a President, a Governor, or an humble citizen—shall we say to these people, you, the mass, are beyond the reach of our sympathy; we have invited you here, to be sure, and, according to the suggestion of the Smator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) perhaps you may take one hundred and sixty acres of hand, but you as not the objects of our cordial sympathy, to whom we will extend the cordial welcome of this resolution? No; the only individual among you to whom the open hand of welcome shall be extended is Louis Kossuth, but it shall not be extended to you. If this were the first question for us to determine, if we had not committed ourselves by previous action, I ask Senators if they would be willing to make this distinction between the followers and the leader? if they would open their hearts to the leader, and turn the backs of their hands towards the associates by whom he has been sustained, and without whose exertions and exposure to peril—from which, perhaps, he was safe—his exertions would have been unavailing, even to the extendent they were successful? Is this to be the course of his exertions would have been unavailing, even to the ex-tent they were successful? Is this to be the course of action, the rule of conduct you will follow? This is the

question I would press if we were not committed by our previous action in relation to this same individual.

Sir, when we turn to the act of Congress in relation to these Hungarian patriots, the idea which I desire to present to the Senate receives a thousandfold weight and force. The honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) force. The honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) says that he will not engage in any philological analysis of the original resolution; he will not engage in any critical commentary upon the words. Who has asked for this? Who has called upon the Senate to enter upon an analysis of or commentary upon the words of the original resolution? The plain, the obvious interpretation of these words points out to us most clearly what we have done before, and indicates to us what we ought to do now, so far as it is proper for us to act at all. I call the attention of the honorable Senator to that resolution. He will not agree to any analysis of or commentary upon it. And why? Because he desires to substitute his assumption of what has been done for the record of what has been done. He says we have invited Governor Kossuth here under the what has been done for the record of what has been done. He says we have invited Governor Kossuth here under the circumstances in which he has so glowingly depicted him, as the great leader of that noble struggle for freedom. We have invited him here, and in that character. Sir, I deny the fact; and I appeal to the record to support me— to no philological analysis of it, to no technical commen-tary upon it, but to the plain recorded language of the American Congress:

American Congress:

"Whereas the people of the United States sincerely sympathize with the Hungarian exiles, Kossuth and his associates, and fully appreciate the magnanimous conduct of the Turkish Government in receiving and treating these noble exiles with kindness and hospitality; and whereas, if it be the wish of these exiles to emigrate to the United States, and the will of the Sultan to permit them to leave his dominions:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be and is hereby requested to authorize the employment of some one of the public vessels which may be now cruising in the Mediterranean to receive and convey to the United States Louis Kossuth and his associates in captivity."

I say, sir, this thing gives a precedent. Our sympathies are as equally due to the associates of Louis Kossuth as

ciates. We have invited them to our country, if they desire to emigrate here, and therefore we have imposed upon ourselves an obligation to fulfil every reasonable expectation which that invitation excites. Why, sir, the honorable Senator says that it is quite customary for Government to yield support to exiles, whether from monarchies or other countries. I do not know, but I doubt it. I doubt not, however, we violate no law of nations in extending our sympathy to these Hungarian patriots, and in giving the assistance which would be necessary to make the asylum we have offered to them a comfortable one. No, sir, I have no such doubt. But the question which I particularly present now is, will you confine your sympathy, your benevolence, your manifestation of devotion to the cause of civil liberty throughout the world, to the person of Louis Kossuth alone, and do what you have done by your original resolution—turn the back of your hand upon those whom you have invited to your country, and who have come here trusting to find a comfortable home? That is the question. It is upon this branch of the amendment that Senators are now to record their votes. The country will understand whether they mean to make this distinction or not in favor of Kossuth and against his fol-lowers who assisted him to achieve the fame which is the

bject of their admiration.

Mr. CASS. Mr. President, I desire to answer the que tion put to me by my honorable friend, the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Berrien.) I do make a distinction. I say to him that I do desire to make a distinction between Kossuth and his associates; but let me not be understood as underrating their patriotism or their services to their country. Now, sir; you know, and every Senator upon this floor knows, that this is an old way of defeating parimmentary measures—to tail out and tail out by addin amendment after amendment, which have no other effect than to defeat the original proposition. I do not mean to say that my honorable friend who introduced this amend-ment had any such object in view. I believe he really desires the passage of the resolution; but such is the effect of it. And that is the common mode resorted to by those who want to kill any measure—to choke it with mendments. The case was alluded to the other day, in which the honorable Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. HALE) tacked an amendment to a resolution which I introduced, which defeated the proposition. He wanted to tack Russia to Austria; somebody else would tack on China to Russia; some would tack on this country, and some that country, and you would have traversed the

whole globe before you got back to my resolution.

Let me not be understood as opposed to this proportion. I confess, for one, that I am in favor of it, if int duced as a separate resolution. I want to do honor to the cause of human freedom in the person of Gov. Kossuth. Circumstances have given him a high position in the world. The eyes of all civilized nations are bent upon the world. The eyes of all civilized nations are bent upon him. Now, sir, I want emphatically to declare the opinion of the American people that we are favorable to the great principle he advocates. And that is the reason I do not want this resolution mingled with any thing else. And now, sir, I challenge the honorable Senator from Georgia. I am perfectly willing to go as far as any man in this body in favor of Italian exiles, Irish exiles, and every exile that has come or may come to this country as a refugee from oppression. If he will introduce a resolu-tion for that purpose, I will vote for it with all my heart. tion for that purpose, I will vote for it with all my heart. But I will not run the risk of defeating this resolution by attaching to it any such thing. I repeat, let the honorable gentleman take in China if he pleases. I will vote for the resolution. I will vote for any resolution he pleases, welcoming political exiles, coming from oppression to a land of freedom. All I object to is the placing of these different things in one resolution. I do not want this proposition defeated or lessened in value by the addition of any thing else. I honor Kossuth—I honor liberty more. I honor him as a or lessened in value by the addition of any thing else. I honor Kossuth—I honor liberty more. I honor him as a friend to liberty, because he has ever been so. Providence seems to have raised him up as the deliverer of his country. He is no more to me than any other Hungarian; but, while I regard him as the representative of a great principle, I want to de honor to the man, and at the same time to de honor to the principle.

Mr. BERRIEN. I trust the honorable Senator from Mishiman (Mr. Cass) does not impute to me any improper

Mr. BERRIEN. I trust the honorable Senator from Michigan (Mr. Cass) does not impute to me any improper motives in proposing this amendment.

Mr. CASS. I said expressly that I believed you would vote for it. I only spoke of the general effect of tacking different resolutions to one another. I said to the honorable Senator that if he would introduce it as a distinct proposition I would vote for it. We have seen, however instances in this Senate in which amendators. proposition I would vote for it. We have seen, now-ever, instances in this Senate, in which amendatory pro-positions were introduced by those who did not mean to vote for the original one; and therefore, if we are to do honor to Kossuth, I repeat again, let us do it in a separate

Mr. BERRIEN. Mr. President, I will state to the Senate, as well as to the honorable Senator from Michigan, that the remarks he offered render it desirable for me unqualifiedly to disavow any intention to do what he says is frequently done. And now, sir, one word. Is this a tacking to the original proposition of a kind that is calculated to defeat it? Did not the mover of this resolution begin by detaching from the original resolution of the Sanate the associates of Governor Kossuth? That resolution embraced Governor Kossuth and his associates. If, in the spirit of that resolution, you mean to extend a welcome to them when you have brought them here—to the associates of Kossuth—why did you not embrace them all in the resolution before us? So far have I been from tacking an extraneous subject to that which was originally supported, that the movers of this resolution have detached Governor Kossuth from his associates, whom they have invited in the original resolution. The original resolution embraced them both. I have desired simply to restore the connexion as it was, and carry out the original pur-Mr. BERRIEN. Mr. President, I will state to th the connexion as it was, and carry out the original purpose of the Congress of the United States by correcting the detaching of these Hungarian patriots.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I do not rise to make a

the detaching of these Hungarian patriots.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I do not rise to make a speech. My views upon the subject of this resolution are well known. I shall vote for it in any shape in which it may be presented. My object is now to divest the subject from some extraneous propositions, which appear to exercise an undue influence in the minds of some gentlemen. It seems they are looking at the consequences which will result from the action of foreign nations, as growing out of the course of this. Now, gentlemen have been so fond of reading the foreign history of the world that they have neglected that nearer home. If they had read carefully the history of this country, they would have seen that there was to be found a precedent for every case that arises, or that could by any possibility arise. We pass this resolution. Suppose offence is taken. It will be very easy to get over that difficulty, as we can pass a resolution to annex Hungary to this country; for annexation is now the order of the day, I believe. Suppose Austria fights to retain possession of Hungary. We can then pass a resolution through Congress as follows: "Resolved, That war exists by the act of Austria." Then, sir, we have a precedent to take two-thirds of Austria as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. I do not mean to say that these results will all grow out of the adoption of this resolution; but, if they should, we have a precedent and glorions results acretofore. We shall not only in this way welcome one here to our shores, but we shall also raise another brood of our own, [nugătar,] as the consequences to grow out of this action. I am sorry to see Senators treat so serious a matter so lightly. It seems to me to be unbecoming and indecorous. [Renewed laughter.] to me to be unbecoming and indecorous. [Renewed

to me to be unbecoming and indecorous. [Renewed laughter.]

I hope, sir, that the resolution will pass. And now, one word in regard to the admonition that has been so kindly given by the honorable Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) I refrained from offering an amendment to this resolution. I had another victim of oppression in my heart, and I have a good many of them, of all colors. I had a white victim of oppression in my heart this time, for whom I want to enlist the sympathies of the Senate; but, instead of presenting it as an amendment to this proposition, and being subjected to these imputations on my motives, I reserved it for an original resolution. I desire to express my sympathies in behalf of Abd-el-Kader; but I do not want to embarrass this proposition before us, and therefore I have refrained, and I will refrain, from offering any amendment to it whatever. I hear gentlemen around me saying that he is not white; at any rate he is pretty white—as white as some men that pass for he is pretty white—as white as some men that pass for white men, I have no doubt. Therefore, sir, I shall rewhite men, I have no doubt. Therefore, sir, I shall reserve every thing of that sort for a future time, that we may have a simple vote upon this resolution; and I shall go against all these amendments, because, sir, when I shake hands with a man, I want him to understand every thing that a good honest grip means. When I shake hands with one of my friends from a Southern State, I want him to understand that I love him as a man, and shake hands with him in a spirit of cordiality and friend-liness. I do not say that I believe on all subjects just as he does—nothing of the sort, sir. I give him an honest shake, and take one from him in return, but I do not expect that he will endorse all my fanaticism. [Laughter.] pect that he will endorse all my fanaticism. [Laughter.]
Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I shall not long detain
the Senate. I regret that this resolution has been introduced, not because I do not cordially unite with all my
sympathies in the proposed measures for the reception of
Governor Kossuth, but for the reason that it could not
pass this body unanimously. A resolution to give such a
reception as has been proposed should pass with entire
unanimity; for its discussion and a divided vote deprive
it of its chief merit. I would not have brought forward
the resolution for the simple reason that I have yet to
learn that the man lives, or ever did live, that could make
a proposition in this body that would not give rise to disa proposition in this body that would not give rise to dis-cussion. It has been objected to this resolution, sir, that its passage would give offence to the principal Powers of Europe. I have heard this objection raised in relation to so many matters of legislation that I have become hearti-ly tired of it. I do not deem it material whether the reare as equally due to the associates of Louis Kossuth as to himself I say we are not at liberty to modify that question; we have committed ourselves to all these assowith me is not whether it will be agreeable to the despotic Powers of Europe; for I well know that they will not be pleased with any action of this Republic which gives enouragement to European movements favorable to liberal

nstitutions.

The question, therefore, is not whether they will be The question, therefore, is not whether they will be pleased or displeased, but whether the adoption of such a resolution gives just cause of offence, according to the laws of nations. Sir, I know of no principle of the law of nations that deprives a Republic of the right of expressing its cordial sympathy in all movements tending to the establishment of free principles throughout to world. I hold that it is our duty to demonstrate our heartfelt sympathy and profound admiration, by every act which is appropriate to the occasion and to the subject-matter. It is due to our own character, in vindication of the history of our revolutionary struggles, which resulted in the establishment of republican institutions upon this continent.

But while it is our duty to do this much, I would take no step which would violate any principle of the law of nations, or give just cause of offence to any Power on earth. Nor do I think that a cordial welcome to Gov. Kossuth, accompanied by the expression of our devotion

Kossuth, accompanied by the expression of our devotion to the cause with which his life is identified, and our sincere desire for his entire success, can be properly con-strued into such a cause of offence. The distinguished cere desire for his entire success, can be properly construed into such a cause of offence. The distinguished Senator from Michigan has well remarked that it has been the usual practice of all enlightened nations in Europe to give a welcome and an asylum to all exiles who have been unsuccessful in their struggle for liberty in their native land. He has referred to the example of England, and might also have cited that of France during the period that he represented this nation with so much honor and dignity at the court of Louis Philippe. If my recollection serves me right, Louis Philippe, for many years, in his annual speech from the throne, expressed his heartfelt desire and strongest hopes for the restoration of the nationality of Poland, which had been divided and apportioned among the Powers composing the Holy Alliance of despotism. He did not stop there; for, under the direction of his Minister of Finance, between one and two millions of francs were appropriated each year for the support of the several thousand exiles then in his own capital, waiting an opportunity, like Kossuth and his associates, to return and engage in the struggle for the independence and freedom of their native land.

If, then, a king, in the heart of Europe, could from his

to return and engage in the struggle for the independence and freedom of their native land.

If, then, a king, in the heart of Europe, could from his throne express such a desire in behalf of unfortunate Poland, and at the same time could tax his people to raise millions of money for the support of patriotic exiles, without giving cause of offence to his brother kings, shall it be said that democratic America is not to be permitted to grant a hearty welcome to an exile who has become the representative of liberal principles throughout the world, lest despotic Austria and Russia shall be offended? We should not close our eyes to the fact that a great movement is in progress which threatens the existence of every absolute Government in Europe. It will be a struggle between liberal and absolute principles—between republicanism and despotism. Are we to remain cold and indifferent spectators when the time of action shall arrive, and the exciting scene shall be presented to our view? Will it not become our duty to do whatever the interests, honor, and glory of our own country may require, in pursuance of the law of nations, to give encouragement to that great movement? Should we not recognise the independence of each republic as soon as it shall be established, open diplomatic intercourse, and form commercial treaties, and, in short, extend the right hand of fellowship, tendering all the courtesies and privileges which should exist between friendly nations of the same political faith? I think that the bearing of this country should be such as to demonstrate to all mankind that America sympathizes with the popular movement same political faith? I think that the bearing of this country should be such as to demonstrate to all mankind that America sympathizes with the popular movement against despotism, whenever and wherever made. I hold that the principle laid down by Governor Kossuth as the basis of his action—that each State has a right to dispose of her own destiny, and regulate her internal affairs in her own way, without the interference of any foreign Power—is an axiom in the laws of nations which every State coucht to recognize and respect. I am prepared Power—is an axiom in the laws of nations which every State ought to recognise and respect. I am prepared now to assert and affirm the proposition by a vote of the Senate, as a part of the international code. It is equally clear to my mind that any violation of this principle by one nation, intervening for the purpose of destroying the liberties of another, is such an infraction of the international code as would authorize any State to interpose which should conceive that it had sufficient interest in the question to become the vindicator of the laws of nations. The armed intervention of Russia to deprive Hungary of her constitutional rights was such a violation of the laws of nations as authorized England or the United States to interfere and prevent the consummation of the States to interfere and prevent the consummation of the deed, if either had chosen to do so. If another alliance